

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 12240 01 OF 02 092226Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00  
INRE-00 /026 W

-----019262 092243Z /61

P 091933Z AUG 78

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3077

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 12240

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 9, 1978  
(SALT TWO-1836)

SEMENOV STATEMENT, AUGUST 9, 1978

- I

TODAY THE USSR DELEGATION WILL ADDRESS THE MATTER OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS CONCERNING REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH, AS OF THE RELEVANT DATE, WOULD BE IN EXCESS OF THE AGGREGATE NUMBER PROVIDED FOR IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE III OF THE DRAFT TREATY.

THE AGREED REDUCTION OF THE INITIAL 2,400 AGGREGATE NUMERICAL LEVEL DURING THE TERM OF THE TREATY MEETS THE OBJECTIVE OF ADOPTING EFFECTIVE AND MEANINGFUL LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS UNDER THE TREATY BEING PREPARED, AND THE GOAL OF REDUCING THE RISK OF NUCLEAR

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 12240 01 OF 02 092226Z

WAR. NATURALLY, SUCH A REDUCTION MUST BE CARRIED OUT IN STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY AND PRECLUDE UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE IN ANY FORM WHATSOEVER. AND THIS MEANS THAT ADEQUATE ACCOUNT MUST BE TAKEN OF THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES AND THE GOAL OF NOT UPSETTING THE BALANCE OF INTERESTS IN THE AREA OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AS IT TAKES SHAPE AT

PRESENT, AND AS IT WILL TAKE SHAPE DURING THE TERM OF THE TREATY BEING WORKED OUT.

AS A RESULT OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD, AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE MATTER UNDER CONSIDERATION, INCLUDING THE SCOPE OF REDUCTIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE REMAINS THE QUESTION OF THE TIME FOR BEGINNING DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS ADDITIONALLY TO BE REDUCED. THE SOVIET SIDE ATTACHES THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO ITS CONSTRUCTIVE RESOLUTION.

UNDER THE PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET SIDE DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF THE AFOREMENTIONED STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WOULD BEGIN ON DECEMBER 30, 1980. THE FACT THAT IT IS BEING PROPOSED TO BEGIN THIS REDUCTION IN DECEMBER 1980 IS DETERMINED FOR THE USSR BY PRACTICAL AND OBJECTIVE REASONS. IT SHOULD ALSO BE BORNE IN MIND THAT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS WE ARE SPEAKING HERE OF REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS MAINLY BY ONE SIDE ONLY.

THE USSR DELEGATION HAS EXPLAINED THAT THE WORK OF DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION WOULD BE CARRIED OUT CONSISTENTLY AND AT A STEADY RATE OVER THE ENTIRE PERIOD ALLOTTED FOR THIS, CONTINGENT UPON THE REAL SITUATION AND WITH AN ACCOUNT FOR RATIONAL USE OF RESOURCES. THIS IS  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 12240 01 OF 02 092226Z

A CLARIFICATION OF SUBSTANTIVE IMPORTANCE, WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED BY THE U.S. SIDE.

AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO AGREE THAT THE AFOREMENTIONED STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH ARE SUBJECT TO DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION DURING THE TERM OF THE TREATY BE PUT IN A CONDITION OF SO-CALLED "ASSURED INOPERABILITY" ALREADY DURING THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS. IN EFFECT, SUCH A PROPOSAL PROVIDES FOR CARRYING OUT IN FOUR MONTHS AN AMOUNT OF DISMANTLING WORK WHICH IN PRACTICE CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED ONLY WITHIN THE ENTIRE ALLOTTED TIME PERIOD. IF EVERYTHING IS DONE DURING THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS, THEN WHY, MAY I ASK, IS THERE A NEED FOR THE REMAINING TIME? SUCH A PROPOSAL DISTORTS AND REDUCES TO NOTHING THE IDEA OF A STEADY RATE IN CARRYING OUT THE RELEVANT ACTIVITIES.

TAKEN TOGETHER, THE SOVIET SIDE'S PROPOSALS ON THE MATTER OF THE TIMING OF DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION REFLECT THE BALANCE OF INTERESTS OF THE SIDES IN THE

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 12240 02 OF 02 092228Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00  
INRE-00 /026 W

-----019295 092244Z /62

P 091933Z AUG 78  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3078  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 12240

EXDIS  
USSALTTWO

AREA UNDER CONSIDERATION, AND ALSO ENSURE ALL THAT IS  
NECESSARY FOR WORKING OUT APPROPRIATE PROCEDURES IN THE  
STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION, AS REFERRED TO IN THE  
PROVISIONS OF PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE XI OF THE DRAFT  
TREATY, WHICH ARE ALREADY AGREED.

THE USSR DELEGATION REAFFIRMS THE SOVIET SIDE'S  
PROPOSAL ON THE ISSUE OF DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF  
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH WOULD BE IN EXCESS OF THE  
AGGREGATE NUMBER PROVIDED FOR IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF  
ARTICLE III OF THE TREATY.

- II

MR. AMBASSADOR,

AT THE AUGUST 2, 1978 MEETING THE U.S. DELEGATION  
AGAIN ADDRESSED THE U.S. SIDE'S PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE  
FIFTH COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE II  
OF THE TREATY. THIS PROPOSAL, AS WELL AS THE EXPLANA-  
TIONS THERETO SET FORTH BY THE U.S. DELEGATION HAVE BEEN  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 12240 02 OF 02 092228Z

STUDIED.

BASED ON THE RESULTS OF THE DISCUSSIONS HELD AND IN THE INTERESTS OF CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRESS IN WORKING OUT A JOINT DRAFT OF THE DOCUMENTS BEING PREPARED, THE USSR DELEGATION, PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS, PROPOSES THAT THE FIFTH COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT TREATY BE AGREED UPON IN THE FOLLOWING WORDING:

"FIFTH COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO PARAGRAPH 5 OF  
ARTICLE II OF THE TREATY

THE SIDES AGREE THAT THE NEGOTIATING RECORD REFLECTS THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING THAT IF ICBM OR SLBM LAUNCHERS ARE MODERNIZED, CONVERTED, OR CONSTRUCTED AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE TREATY, ANY SUCH LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE LAUNCHERS OF MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS SHALL BE DISTINGUISHABLE FROM LAUNCHERS OF MISSILES NOT EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS ON THE BASIS OF EXTERNALLY OBSERVABLE DESIGN FEATURES OF THE LAUNCHERS. THIS UNDERSTANDING DOES NOT REQUIRE CHANGES TO LAUNCHER MODERNIZATION, CONVERSION, OR CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS UNDERWAY AS OF THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY."

THIS PROVISION, WHICH SUPPLEMENTS THE FORMULATIONS AGREED UPON BY THE SIDES FOR PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE II AND ITS ASSOCIATED AGREED STATEMENTS AND COMMON UNDERSTANDINGS, IS AIMED AT AVOIDING AMBIGUITIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TREATY PROVISIONS WHICH CONCERN LAUNCHERS OF MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

BY WAY OF CLARIFICATION, I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SAY THE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 12240 02 OF 02 092228Z

FOLLOWING. THE TEXT OF THE SOVIET SIDE'S PROPOSAL FOR THE FIFTH COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE II USES THE TERM "MODERNIZATION." THIS TERM CORRESPONDS PRECISELY TO THE CONTENT OF THE PROVISIONS UNDER DISCUSSION. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO NOTE THAT IT IS PRECISELY MODERNIZATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH IS REFERRED TO IN ARTICLE X OF THE DRAFT TREATY, THE TEXT OF WHICH IS AGREED AND GOVERNS THE WORDING OF THE PROVISION CONCERNING THIS AREA.

AS FOR THE LAST SENTENCE IN THE WORDING TABLED FOR THE FIFTH COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT TREATY TO THE EFFECT THAT SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING DOES NOT REQUIRE CHANGES TO LAUNCHER MODERNIZATION, CONVERSION, OR CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS

UNDERWAY AS OF THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY, THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THIS PROVISION APPLIES TO ALL LAUNCHERS OF A CORRESPONDING TYPE, AND NOT TO INDIVIDUAL LAUNCHERS UNDERGOING MODERNIZATION, CONVERSION OR CONSTRUCTION AS OF THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY.

THE USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT THE PROPOSAL TABLED TODAY AND THE CLARIFICATIONS GIVEN IN CONNECTION WITH IT PROVIDE EVERYTHING NECESSARY FOR REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT OF THE FIFTH COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT TREATY ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS.

I BELIEVE THAT THE WORK OF RECORDING AGREEMENT ON THE AFOREMENTIONED PROVISION OF THE JOINT DRAFT COULD BE ASSIGNED TO THE DRAFTING GROUP. EARLE

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** SPEECHES, SALT (ARMS CONTROL)  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 09 aug 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978GENEVA12240  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780326-0781  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** GENEVA USSALTTWO  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780884/aaaacsbt.tel  
**Line Count:** 240  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 73ef6d66-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 30 jun 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1796016  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 9, 1978 (SALT TWO-1836) SEMENOV STATEMENT, AUGUST 9, 1978  
**TAGS:** PARM, (SEMENOV, V S)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/73ef6d66-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014